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ABSTRACT

The study was designed to determine the relationship between a student's intention to migrate from his community of residence and his vocational and educational expectations. In rural North Carolina, 1068 senior students (Negroes and whites) in 23 high schools were interviewed. Variables examined included sex, socioeconomic status, intelligence, residence, and race. The general conclusion reached was that the social context within which socialization occurs tends to create attitudinal sets among students, resulting in expression of migration intents bearing direct relationships to vocational and educational expectations. The document is appended with 11 tables. (AN)

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INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENT AND VOCATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF NORTH CAROLINA RURAL YOUTH

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High school seniors must make and implement vocational and educational plans which will be of lasting consequence to themselves and the society of which they are a part. Such plans are determined within a framework of many variables in the environment of the student. Some of these variables are social, such as the expectations of his parents and the norms of his peers. Others are personal, deriving from his own set of values and goals. In each case, they serve to determine directions and set boundaries upon student ambitions.

In recent years, high school seniors have been subjected to the pressures of an almost unprecedented process of migration. This factor potentially is related to the probability that they will seek or complete advanced education, as well as bearing upon the type of vocation to which they will aspire.

The purpose of the study reported herein was to determine the relationships between a student's intention to migrate from his community of residence and his vocational and educational expectations.

Procedure

The Sample

The sample consisted of 1068 senior students present in the sample schools on the day of the interview. Data were collected in the late spring when it was reasonably certain that each respondent would be a bona fide high school graduate. Twenty-three schools were chosen to represent each of the non-metropolitan economic areas of North Carolina. Each individual school was that nearest the average size in the area offering a comprehensive curriculum. Data were gathered by a schedule administered at the school.

Definition of Terms

Operational definitions of terms basic to the study are presented.

Migration Intent. The intent of the student to migrate from the community in which he was resident at the time of data collection. The general understanding was that migration would occur within a few years following graduation.

Vocational Expectation. The name of the occupation in which the student expected to engage following "the completion of your education."

Educational Expectation. An expression of intent to enroll in a four-year college in the fall following graduation from high school. Only students able to name a college of enrollment were considered to have a positive educational expectation.

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Socioeconomic Status. Categories were derived by transforming the occupation of the student's father into a numerical score based on the North-Hatt occupational prestige scale.

Intelligence. To aid in overcoming scoring discrepancies represented in the school records used to establish IQ, broad categories were established. A score of less than 90 was classed as low intelligence; scores between 90 and 110 were classed as medium; and those above 110, as high.

Residence. Residence categories used were: open country, both farm and nonfarm; village, including all centers of population up to 2500 inhabitants; and town, including centers with more than 2500 persons.

Race. Respondents were classified as white or Negro.

Hypotheses

1. Intention to migrate will be directly related to the prestige of expected occupation.

2. Intention to migrate will be directly related to the probability of attending a four-year college.

Method of Analysis

Analysis of the data was similar to the procedure which has come to be known as "partialling." It varies in that the independent variable has but two categories of dimension. As used here, the analytical technique consisted of a three-step process.

1. Determination of whether the anticipated direction of relationship between the independent and dependent variables existed.

2. Determination of whether any of a series of logically associated other variables was associated with the dependent variable of the primary relationship.

3. Partialling of the sample into categories for each of the associated other variables to determine if this disrupted the anticipated independent-dependent variable relationship.

Engagement in the second and third steps was contingent upon a positive finding in the preceding step.

The major test of relationship between the primary variables consisted of visual examination for the anticipated directionality. As an additional check, chi-square analysis was conducted. Since the proposed relationship was directional, one-tailed probability values were utilized. The level of rejection was set at .05.

Migration Intent and Vocational Aspiration

The concentration of prestige occupations in urban areas is proceeding apace. Not so long ago the doctor, as an example, was found practicing in the rural area to greater extent than now. Better transportation has made it less necessary for him to be in close physical contact with his potential clientele. And he has assumed that he will be better able to practice quality medicine if he is in close contact with hospitals, specialists, and supply houses -- facilities to be found most commonly in urban centers.

Similar rationale could be developed for those other prestigious occupations at one time found in the rural area. Surely, it must be accepted that the distribution of prestige among occupations is imperfect and rural areas are host to many more of the occupations of lesser prestige.

If this is the case, ambitious rural youth, eager to obtain occupations of high prestige and aware of the limitations of the local environment, should anticipate a necessity to migrate in pursuit of prestigious occupations. Beyond this, the personality structure which develops ambitions expressed as desire for occupations of high prestige might likewise goad its possessor to seek additional worlds to conquer or brighter lights by which to illuminate his accomplishments.

Examination of the data showed that a greater proportion of students who intended to migrate expected to engage in occupations of high prestige than was the case for those students who did not foresee migration, Table 1. This was true for the entire sample as well as for the male and female components.

Relationship of the Control Variables to Vocational Expectation

Other variables elsewhere shown to be related to occupational prestige might be influential of the presumed relationship between migration intent and vocational expectation. The sex of the respondent has been shown to be related to vocational expectation in Table 1, where the female component contained a greater proportion of individuals expecting occupations of high prestige than did the male.

The relationship of socioeconomic status, intelligence, residence and race to vocational expectation is shown in Table 2. Each was related with the sole exception of race and that only for the male component.

Distribution of the Control Variable through the Migration Categories

There is a condition wherein the antecedent variables need not be controlled even though shown to be related to the dependent variable. If the antecedent variable is equitably distributed across the independent variable, it may be presumed that its effects are cancelled out and ineffective of the relationship between independent and dependent variables.

As a result of the distributions of the antecedent variables shown in Table 3, it was possible to conduct further investigation of the migration intent-vocational expectation relationship without controlling for socioeconomic status. The variables of intelligence, residence, race, and sex were used as controls.

Analysis of the Primary Relationship with Antecedent Variables Controlled

Intelligence. Control of the variable of intelligence did not affect the previously noted relationship between migration intent and vocational expectation, Table 4. Increasing proportions of students anticipated vocations of high prestige as respondent intelligence increased. But in each intelligence category, for both males and females, a greater proportion of migrants than of nonmigrants expected occupations of high prestige. Intelligence could not be presumed to account for the difference in vocational expectation between migrants and nonmigrants.

Residence. Control on residence of respondent disrupted the observed relationship between migration intent and vocational expectation, Table 5. Open country residents continued the expected relationship. Village residents were schismatic, with the anticipated relationship observable among males but not among females. Among those respondents from towns, the relationship was disrupted for both male and female respondents; nonmigrants had high vocational expectations in greater proportion than did migrants.

Residence to large degree explains the migration intent-vocational expectation relationship. The anticipated relationship obtained among open country residents, wherein opportunity to engage in occupations of high prestige is limited. It became ambivalent in the village group, a residence category in which presumably there is greater opportunity to engage in occupations which scale in the high prestige range. It disappeared among respondents residing in town who apparently are able in large measure to satisfy their expectation of engaging in vocations of high prestige without moving.

These findings lend support to the theory expounded earlier: of increasing opportunity to engage in occupations of high prestige as one resides in increasingly greater population concentrations. It is considered unusual, however, that the effects of residence should appear in the limited concentration differentials characteristic of the categories used here. It must be assumed that the residence variable is a sensitive one, the effects of which are responsive to minor changes in size of center.

Race. With the relationship between migration intent and vocational expectation so well explained by the variable of residence, continuance of analysis was rather academic. However, in the interest of uniformity, and scientific curiosity, the effect of race was investigated, Table 6. The anticipated relationship was observed among white students, more noticeably among males. By a narrow but obvious margin the proportion of Negro students anticipating occupations of high prestige was greater among those who did not intend to migrate. This apparently contradictory condition quite probably is related to the residence variable. Many more of the Negro respondents were from

village and town residences than was the case for the white students. The observed relationship between residence category and vocational expectation may, therefore, be sufficient to explain the high percentage of nonmigrant Negro students who expect occupations of high prestige.

Migration Intent and Educational Expectation

The student who evidences an expectation of advanced educational achievement may be considered more ambitious, more desirous of social mobility, than his contemporary who does not set his educational goals as high. Associated with that ambition might be a perceived necessity of migrating from his home community as a means of attaining the goals he has set for himself. This section of the paper deals with the extent to which this was the case. The hypothesis under investigation was that greater proportions of students who anticipated college enrollment would be found among those who expected to migrate.

The predicted relationship between migration intent and educational expectation was observed, Table 7. A greater proportion of those students who intended to migrate expeted to attend a four-year college than was true of those who planned to remain in their current community of residence. This condition was true of the entire sample as well as of the male and female components. The directional hypothesis received initial substantiation.

Relationship of the Control Variables to Educational Expectations

To determine the effect of antecedent variables upon the primary relationship, tests were undertaken to determine whether sex, socioeconomic status, intelligence, residence, and race were related to the educational expectation of the sample, Table 8. It was observed that each of these variables was related to educational expectation and potentially effective of the migration intent-educational expectation relationship. It was necessary as a result to exercise control over these variables before it was possible to accept the primary relationship at face value.

Distribution of the Control Variables through the Migration Categories

A check was made to determine whether the antecedent variables might be equitably distributed across the migration categories, Table 3. Socioeconomic status was found to be equitably distributed and was not controlled in further analysis.

Analysis of the Primary Relationship with Antecedent Variables Controlled

Intelligence. The anticipated relationship between migration intent and educational expectation generally obtained when intelligence was used as a control variable, Table 9. However, the direction of the relationship was

reversed for low intelligence males, wherein those who did not expect to migrate contained a larger proportion who expected advanced educational attainment.

The anticipated influence of intelligence upon educational expectation was generally observed. The proportion of students who expected to attend college tended to increase directly with intelligence, both for migrants and nonmigrants, male and female. There was a minor modification of this tendency for the medium intelligence group. The observed tendencies were substantially as anticipated and the effect of intelligence as an antecedent variable could not be presumed to account for the primary relationship shown in Table 7.

Residence. Residence, used as a control, had little effect upon the relationship between migration intent and educational expectation, Table 10. The anticipated relationship obtained, in the expected direction, for all but the village female group. Residence did not have the strong explanatory value for the migration intent-educational expectation relationship that it possessed for the migration intent-vocational expectation relationship.

Race. There was a strongly evident difference in the nature of the relationship between white and Negro respondents, Table 11. For white students the relationship was of the anticipated nature. Migrants contained a greater percentage with high educational expectation. For Negro students the relationship was reversed. More students expected attendance at college among the nonmigrant group.

The reversed migration intent-educational expectation relationship among Negro students is not explainable on a residential base. Attainment of advanced education is not dependent upon migration in the sense that attainment of a high prestige occupation may be. The anticipated relationship between migration intent and educational expectation was based upon a premise of value internalization causative of ambition, expressed as a drive for advanced education occurring simultaneously with a desire to seek achievement in new environments.

The Negro segment of the sample gave evidence of the drive toward attainment. They expressed expectation of college attendance in greater proportions than was true of their white contemporaries. But they did not adhere to the allegedly associated desire to move from their home community in pursuit of life goals. They appeared to believe that they would be able to advance themselves in the context of their local communities, utilizing the fruits of advanced education in the local environment.

These conclusions must be qualified by bringing attention to the special nature of the Negro senior high school student. He is by definition other than typical of all Negro youth his age, having given evidence of superior qualities by attaining the status of senior high school student. Coupled with an altruistic desire to be of service in the local community, this selectivity may provide a rationale for the greater expectation of nonmigrants. But the question of reality of expectation is left unanswered. It might be presumed with good reason that the community of residence of many of these students

would be incapable of providing them with the level of expectation to which they strive nor to absorb the energies which they apparently intend to express in that local setting.

Conclusions

A general conclusion may be drawn that the social context within which socialization occurs tends to create attitudinal sets among students resulting in expression of migration intents bearing direct relationships to vocational and educational expectation.

Antecedent variables to some extent were affective of the primary relationships, with residence and race most disruptive. The variable of residence appeared to account for the migration intent-vocational expectation relationship rather completely. Both migration relationships were reversed in the case of Negro students.

Several unanticipated findings were contained in the data. For one, female expectation consistently was greater than that of males. This is contrary to the findings of previous studies and to some extent appears inconsistent with reality. The greater migration to urban areas characteristic of females may help to explain the phenomenon but is not totally satisfactory in this era of declining populations in both farm and small town locales. Females, many of whom will in fact become housewives, may have been exercising their vocational imaginations. But this explanation does not reduce the discrepancy in educational expectations which were based on more solid foundations.

Another unanticipated finding was that the expectation of Negro students consistently was greater than that for whites. The only explanation which comes to mind has been presented -- the selectivity function represented by the Negro senior high school student. The temptation, indeed the necessity, to drop out of school is great for the Negro student. Those who remain must be, on the average, students of superior ability, possessed of high individual motivation, and subjects of great support and encouragement by family members and teachers.

The tendency of the Negro student of high expectation to be represented to greater degree among nonmigrants than among migrants was another unanticipated finding. It is counter to previous findings. This intention on the part of these students may well be a recently developed attitude indicative of an increased perception of an ability to obtain a worthy life in the current milieu. Conversely, it may be an indicator either of a spirit of altruism or one of determination likewise developing as a result of recent social events. Whatever its origin, it appears to be particularly amenable to further research.

TABLE 1. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY MIRGRATION INTENT, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Male	Female	Total
	1	2	3
Yes	37.1 (251)	39.8 (347)	38.6 (598)
No	27.7 (217)	31.8 (214)	29.7 (431)
Total	32.7 (468)	36.7 (561)	34.9 (1029)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .025 level.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .05 level.
3 Chi-square significant beyond the .005 level.

TABLE 2. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, INTELLIGENCE, RESIDENCE, AND RACE, MALE AND FEMALE

	Males	Females	Total
Socioeconomic status	1	1	2
Low	29.9 (381)	35.5 (470)	33.0 (851)
High	51.1 (45)	56.6 (53)	54.1 (98)
Intelligence	2	2	2
Low	22.8 (145)	31.4 (172)	27.4 (317)
Medium	37.4 (187)	32.4 (241)	34.6 (428)
High	62.7 (67)	65.2 (66)	63.9 (133)
Residence	3	1	2
Open country	28.4 (296)	31.7 (376)	30.2 (672)
Village	39.0 (82)	43.8 (89)	41.5 (171)
Town	37.9 (103)	47.1 (104)	42.5 (207)
Race	3	2	1
White	31.6 (291)	29.0 (328)	30.2 (619)
Negro	32.0 (197)	45.6 (252)	39.6 (449)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .01 level.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .001 level.
3 Chi-square not significant.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, INTELLIGENCE, RESIDENCE, RACE, AND SEX BY MIGRATION INTENT

Migration intent	a. Socioeconomic status[1]		
	Low	High	N
Yes	90.0 (488)	10.0 (54)	542
No	90.0 (342)	10.0 (38)	380
Total	90.0 (830)	10.0 (92)	922

	b. Intelligence[2]			
	Low	Medium	High	N
Yes	37.1 (193)	45.2 (235)	17.7 (92)	520
No	36.4 (138)	52.0 (197)	11.6 (44)	379
Total	36.8 (331)	48.1 (432)	15.1 (136)	899

	c. Residence[3]			
	Town	Village	Open country	N
Yes	22.7 (134)	18.3 (108)	59.0 (348)	590
No	15.8 (67)	13.4 (57)	70.8 (301)	425
Total	19.8 (201)	16.3 (165)	63.9 (649)	1015

	d. Race[3]		
	White	Negro	N
Yes	51.5 (308)	48.5 (290)	598
No	66.6 (287)	33.4 (144)	431
Total	57.8 (595)	42.2 (434)	1029

	e. Sex[3]		
	Male	Female	N
Yes	42.0 (251)	58.0 (347)	598
No	50.4 (217)	49.6 (214)	431
Total	45.5 (468)	54.5 (561)	1029

1 Chi-square not significant.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .05 level.
3 Chi-square significant beyond the .001 level.

TABLE 4. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH VOCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MIGRATION INTENT AND INTELLIGENCE, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Intelligence			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
Males	1	2	1	
Yes	24.1 (79)	46.7 (92)	64.1 (39)	41.4 (210)
No	21.9 (64)	28.9 (90)	59.3 (27)	30.9 (181)
Total	23.1 (143)	37.9 (182)	62.1 (66)	36.6 (391)
Females	1	1	1	
Yes	34.0 (97)	37.0 (135)	64.7 (51)	41.0 (283)
No	28.6 (70)	27.2 (103)	61.5 (13)	30.1 (186)
Total	31.7 (167)	32.8 (238)	64.1 (64)	36.7 (469)
Total	27.7 (310)	35.0 (420)	63.1 (130)	36.6 (860)

1 Chi-square not significant.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .01 level.

TABLE 5. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY MIGRATION INTENT AND RESIDENCE, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Residence			
	Open country	Village	Town	Total
Males	1	2	2	
Yes	38.5 (130)	44.7 (38)	40.6 (64)	40.1 (232)
No	23.7 (139)	44.1 (34)	42.9 (28)	29.9 (201)
Total	30.9 (269)	44.4 (72)	41.3 (92)	35.3 (433)
Females	3	2	2	
Yes	38.4 (203)	45.3 (64)	46.8 (62)	41.3 (329)
No	26.8 (153)	47.4 (19)	50.0 (36)	32.7 (208)
Total	33.4 (356)	45.8 (83)	48.0 (98)	38.0 (537)
Total	32.3 (625)	45.2 (155)	44.7 (190)	36.8 (970)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .01 level.
2 Chi-square not significant.
3 Chi-square significant beyond the .025 level.

TABLE 6. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH VOCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MIGRATION INTENT AND RACE, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Race		
	White	Negro	Total
Males	1	3	
Yes	44.1 (127)	35.2 (105)	40.1 (232)
No	25.4 (138)	38.5 (65)	29.6 (203)
Total	34.3 (265)	36.5 (170)	35.2 (435)
Females	2	3	
Yes	35.5 (172)	47.0 (164)	41.1 (336)
No	22.7 (141)	52.2 (69)	32.4 (210)
Total	29.7 (313)	48.5 (233)	37.7 (546)
Total	31.8 (578)	43.4 (403)	36.6 (981)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .005 level.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .01 level.
3 Chi-square not significant.

TABLE 7. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MIGRATION INTENT, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Male	Female	Total
	1	2	2
Yes	29.1 (251)	34.0 (347)	31.9 (598)
No	22.1 (217)	23.4 (214)	22.7 (431)
Total	25.9 (468)	30.0 (561)	28.1 (1,029)

1 Chi-square not significant.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .005 level.

TABLE 8. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, INTELLIGENCE, RESIDENCE, AND RACE, MALE AND FEMALE

	Male	Female	Total
Socioeconomic status	2	1	1
Low	23.1 (381)	26.6 (470)	25.0 (851)
High	44.4 (45)	60.4 (53)	53.1 (98)
Total	25.4 (426)	30.0 (523)	27.9 (949)
Intelligence	1	1	1
Low	17.5 (154)	27.8 (176)	23.0 (330)
Medium	24.8 (198)	23.7 (236)	24.2 (434)
High	53.5 (71)	59.7 (67)	56.5 (138)
Total	27.0 (423)	30.3 (479)	28.7 (902)
Residence	1	1	1
Open country	19.3 (296)	24.7 (376)	22.3 (672)
Village	36.6 (82)	33.7 (89)	35.1 (171)
Town	35.9 (103)	44.2 (104)	40.1 (207)
Total	25.8 (481)	29.7 (569)	27.9 (1,050)
Race	3	1	1
White	21.3 (291)	20.1 (328)	20.7 (619)
Negro	32.0 (197)	41.7 (252)	37.4 (449)
Total	25.6 (488)	29.5 (580)	27.7 (1,068)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .001 level.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .01 level.
3 Chi-square significant beyond the .02 level.

TABLE 9. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MIGRATION INTENT AND INTELLIGENCE, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Intelligence			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
Males	2	1	2	
Yes	16.3 (86)	32.0 (97)	59.0 (39)	30.6 (222)
No	19.7 (66)	17.4 (92)	44.8 (29)	22.5 (187)
Total	17.8 (152)	24.9 (189)	52.9 (68)	26.9 (409)
Females	2	3	2	
Yes	31.6 (98)	28.6 (133)	62.8 (51)	35.8 (282)
No	25.4 (71)	18.2 (99)	46.2 (13)	23.0 (183)
Total	29.0 (169)	24.1 (232)	59.4 (64)	30.8 (465)
Total	23.7 (321)	24.5 (421)	56.1 (132)	29.0 (874)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .025 level.
2 Chi-square not significant.
3 Chi-square significant beyond the .05 level.

TABLE 10. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MIGRATION INTENT AND RESIDENCE, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Residence			
	Open country	Village	Town	Total
Males	2	2	2	
Yes	22.6 (137)	40.0 (40)	36.2 (69)	29.3 (246)
No	15.6 (141)	37.8 (37)	35.5 (31)	22.5 (209)
Total	19.1 (278)	39.0 (77)	36.0 (100)	26.2 (455)
Females	1	2	2	
Yes	32.5 (203)	32.3 (65)	50.0 (60)	35.7 (328)
No	17.7 (153)	44.4 (18)	42.9 (35)	24.3 (206)
Total	26.1 (356)	34.9 (83)	47.4 (95)	31.3 (534)
Total	23.0 (634)	36.9 (160)	41.5 (195)	28.9 (989)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .005 level.
2 Chi-square not significant.

TABLE 11. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MIGRATION INTENT AND RACE, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Race		
	White	Negro	Total
Males	2	3	
Yes	27.7 (130)	31.6 (117)	29.6 (247)
No	15.7 (140)	35.1 (74)	22.4 (214)
Total	21.5 (270)	33.0 (191)	26.3 (461)
Females	1	3	
Yes	28.1 (167)	42.3 (168)	35.2 (335)
No	12.3 (138)	47.1 (70)	24.0 (208)
Total	21.0 (305)	43.7 (238)	30.9 (543)
Total	21.2 (575)	38.9 (429)	28.8 (1,004)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .005 level.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .025 level.
3 Chi-square not significant.